

THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME I.

THE EXAMINER;

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Address

to the Kentucky Colonization Socie-
ty in the Presbyterian Church, Frank-
fort, by Hon. W. F. Bullock.

(CONCLUDED.)

direct and immediate effects of their
action to the cause of colonization, were
the deepest prejudices in the
of the free negro, and at the same
to rivet the chains of the slave. It
another effect. In the slave States
the ignorant and uninformed, it in-
the advocates of colonization in the
indiscriminate censure with rabid
colonists, whilst in the free States, it
was them as the abusers of slavery,
and the worst enemies of the African race.

It may readily be supposed that at this
time and under these circumstances, the
progress of colonization was greatly retarded.
But in nothing has the hand of a wise
and merciful Providence been more surely
displayed. There was great danger that
the infant colony of Liberia would become
burdened with a population which it could
not sustain. It required time to organize
its government, to mature its plans, and to
increase its resources. To have been over-
with emigrants, of which there was at
one time great danger, would have proved
certain calamity. But during this period
the support of the parent society was par-
tially withdrawn—they were left to stand
alone, that their capacity of civil govern-
ment might be more fully developed, and
that they might be the better prepared, by
trials and hardships, for the glorious mis-
sion to which they have been assigned.

What has been the result? The docu-
mentary history of Liberia contains indis-
putable evidence of high capacity in all the
departments of Government. Their
firmness and discretion, their heroic courage,
and high sense of justice, as evidenced in
their intercourse with the natives, command
our unqualified respect. The diffusion of
education, the equal and enlightened admin-
istration of justice, and the free course
which is given to the word of God, contain
the assurance that the sacred deposit of hu-
man liberty is safe in their hands.

This colony, with its dependencies, mem-
bers about five thousand inhabitants. It
now rises to view an infant republic. Her
citizens are discussing with all the
lights which history and philosophy can
furnish, the expedient of taking position at
one amongst the nations of the earth. There
is a calm deliberation, an enlightened
forecast, and a moral intrepidity here
displayed, which do honor to human nature,
and cannot fail to awaken the generous
sympathy of the civilized world.

This is the glorious instrumentality by
which the blessings of civilization, and the
truths of Christianity, are to be bestowed
upon millions of the human family.

African colonization constitutes a new
epoch in the policy of the world. Other
colonies in ancient and modern times have
been planted by cupidity or ambition. But
the establishment of colonies for the pur-
poses of civilization, and based upon prin-
ciples of love to God, and good will to
men, is an achievement of the present age,
and one of the blessed triumphs of the
Christian religion.

We are not apt in making our calcula-
tion of the progress of events, to take into
the estimate the silent, yet wonderful force
of moral causes. We can calculate the
momentum and probable effects of fleets
and armies, but the results to be produced
by the light of truth, bursting and beaming
upon the awakened intellect of a nation,
are beyond our feeble comprehension. We
are sometimes led to doubt the efficiency of
such a cause, because it is silent and gradual
in its operation. But this is not the in-
duction of sound philosophy. That power
which is most surely felt in the physical
universe is the Sun, which visits us in the
silence of the morning. His advent is so
noiseless that he does not wake an infant in
his cradle. So it is with the light of truth.
It is clothed with a Divine energy. Under
its benign influence the mind of the nation
will expand, and its faculties will be gradu-
ally unfolded, bringing forth the fruits of
civilization, the blessings of liberty, and the
hopes of immortality.

I have spoken of the evils which result
from the existence of this peculiar class
in the midst of our population, and of the in-
calculable benefits to be derived from emi-
gration. But whilst it is conceded that the
condition of the negro may be improved,
and that Africa may be civilized by such
means, it is said that the scheme of coloni-
zation is impracticable, and that its means
are wholly inadequate to relieve the country
from this accumulating evil. It may be
said that the giant of the new world has not
sufficient strength to rise under this moment-
um weight.

This despondency, so unworthy of the
American character, is the result of a false
apprehension of the nature and extent of the
evil to be removed and of the means to
be employed for its removal.

The annual increase of this class of popu-
lation, according to the present census, may
be estimated at 75,000. A wise and just
system of colonization requires that none
should be removed but the young, the healthy,
and the vigorous. They are best pre-
pared for the untired scenes of a new life,
and they have more time for moral and
intellectual improvement. If, therefore, our
resources were applied to the removal of
those from fifteen to fifty years of age, leav-
ing behind the extremely young, and the old
who are sinking from age, how soon would
we get upon the descending scale and sen-
sibly reduce the annual product. Thus
every year the evil would be lessened, whilst
the means for its removal are increasing.

The fact should not be forgotten in
connection, that the free negro population
of the United States, is comparatively un-
productive. It is the fresh accession which
is constantly receiving from the newly
emancipated slaves, which imparts to it its
principal strength.

It is only necessary to bring the public
will to bear upon this subject, and the ob-
ject is attained. The annual expenditure
for such a purpose would scarcely be felt.
Look at the amount of emigration annually

to our shores by the poor of Europe, based
upon their own private means, and then
compare their ability with the resources of
a mighty nation. The time is rapidly ap-
proaching, when the same powerful motives,
which stimulate the oppressed of Europe to
seek our shores, will be brought to bear with
ten-fold power upon the free colored popu-
lation of the United States. Every com-
pany of emigrants which lands in Liberia
is increasing and strengthening the ties
which bind them to their Father land. There
is a steady current of thought and
feeling in this one direction. The rapid
transmission of intelligence, constant and
increasing intercourse, and the free inter-
change of commodities, will bring the
brotherhood of the two continents into close
and familiar contact. All the present dead
and apprehension of the dangers, which
await them on a far distant and inhospitable
coast, will be lost in the earnest desire to
join their brethren in the land of promise.
Every gale which sweeps across the broad
Atlantic, will waft a message of love. The
question then, will no be, who will go, but
who will longer remain in captivity and in-
surance?

Let it be remembered also, that as Liberia
is extended and grows in wealth and
population, the difficulties of emigration
will be proportionably diminished. Not
only will the prospect of a happy home,
surrounded by the comforts of civilization and
refinement, present a strong inducement
to the man of property, but the poor
and the enterprising will be tempted to
seek an asylum, where industry and
merit will be rewarded. Thus the wealth,
energies and enthusiasm of this entire
class will swell the tide of public manufac-
ture and be directed in the proper channel.
The notes of preparation will be heard
throughout the length and breadth of our
land. The strong and irresistible current
of popular feeling will be in one direction.
The mighty work will be accomplished.

Why should it be doubted? It is because
statesmen are silent upon the subject, and
the glorious results which it contemplates
have not been dreamed of in their philoso-
phy? We may learn from the history of
the past, that the course of events has not
always been determined by political man-
agement. If we would judge aright, we
must take our view from a more elevated
position—we must ascend upon higher
ground. The grand epoch in the history
of man will be in one direction. The mighty
work will be accomplished.

In the foregoing chapters I have maintained
that slavery is the great cause of the un-
prosperous condition of the South; and have
endeavored to show in what way it affects
the productive energies of the country. I
will now notice another circumstance to
which the same evils have been attributed.
It is asserted by the advocates of Free Trade
that the South owes its misfortunes and pov-
erty solely to the Protective Policy, which
benefits the manufacturer at the expense of
the agriculturist. I have no wish to con-
travene the doctrines of Free Trade, or Pro-
tection, at present; but I shall endeavor to
show that neither can be an adequate cause
for the great disparity which exists in the
condition of the Northern and Southern
sections of the Union. It is contended by
the advocates of Free Trade that the duties
which are imposed on foreign manufac-
tures, coming in competition with similar articles
made in this country, operate as a tax upon
the consumer for the benefit of the home
producer; and that when such duties exceed
the revenue standard, they in effect affect
money out of the pocket of the farmer with-
out any equivalent, in order to enrich the
manufacturer. The extent to which the
tariff has been signalized by higher and
noller motives than usually impel the machi-
nery of human ambition. The principle
of action were embodied in the human
soul and called forth by the power of God.
Christianity is the mighty and enduring
force which is acting upon the world. It
will not be disturbed in its onward progress
by the clashing interests and opposing
schemes of worldly policy.

It is the spirit of Christianity, which origi-
nated the scheme of African Colonization,
and has sustained it from the beginning.
No vindictive and persecuting spirit has
marked the annals of this institution. It
declares no war upon society. It does not
seek to imbue its hands in blood. No in-
cendiary spirit is cherished in its bosom.
It has not obscured its life into the halls of leg-
islation, to fan the flame of civil discord.
nor has it impiously dared to usurp the place
of the Most High within the hallowed pre-
cincts of the church. It has proposed to it-
self the humble but Heaven-directed mission
of doing good.

This is a system of benevolence, which
protects the rights of property as guaranteed
by the constitution and the laws. It is based
upon the inviolability of private rights. It
stands opposed to the wild and fanatical
spirit, which seeks to agitate and disturb the
repose of society. It addresses itself to
higher motives and follows in the path
clearly marked out by the Providence of
God.

It is a remarkable fact, that whilst the
Colonization Society has carefully avoided
all interference with the relations of master
and slave, it has done more to promote
emancipation than all the Abolition Societies
in the country. The reason is an obvious
one, and is founded in a just and enlightened
view of the subject. The emancipation
which it promotes and encourages, is real
emancipation. It is justified by every considera-
tion which can move the patriot and the Christian.
The Reviewer contends that slavery ex-
isted in equal degree in Egypt and Lydia as
in Italy; but without equal means of informa-
tion upon the subject, I doubt the correctness
of the statement.

The Roman people, for a long period be-
fore and after the fall of the Republic, were
engaged in continual wars, which, as history
informs us, and reason makes probable,
had the effect of withdrawing the free ag-
ricultural population from their homes, and
the introduction of thousands of prisoners,
to adorn the triumphs of their successful
generals, who naturally supply the place of
the freemen. We learn that such was the
case; and that Italy was abandoned to the
wretched cultivation of slave labor.

On the other hand, the distant provinces
were likely to have their population with-
drawn to support the wars; and the inferiority
of the Egyptian peasantry to the Roman
people, would disqualify them for the army.
Doubtless the peasantry of Egypt and Lydia
were in a condition little better than
slavery, morally speaking; but if they were
not actually chattels—if each individual
was so far free as to be under the recess
of the density of their population, which is
in fact very small compared even with our
own free States, and almost nothing in con-
trast with the States of Europe.

From 1830 to 1840 the population of
Virginia and the Carolinas made almost no
advancement in the number of slaves in
connection with the slave States in connection
with this subject. I mean the spirit of
the age. The achievements of science and of
art, the improvements in agriculture and the
various and wonderful application of labor-
saving machinery, with the overflowing and
ever increasing tide of emigration to our
shores from every country in Europe, are
undermining the value of slave labor.

The operation of these causes is sensibly felt.
Every man of observation must have seen
that slavery, for years past, has been sloughing
off in the middle and western States. Some
how or other, the idea has seized upon
the public mind, that the intrinsic value
of this species of property has de-
preciated. The tenure by which it is held
has been weakened. These same causes
will continue to operate with an increased
force, whilst the power of resistance is daily
and rapidly diminishing.

Let it be borne in mind that these causes
are not local in their operation. They
will find their way to the south and will
there produce the same results. I speak
of no probable results, but of the necessary
and eternal relations of cause and effect.
The unequal competition of slave with free
labor, must be the same every where. The
indomitable energy and superior skill and
industry of the whites, with a dense and
overflowing population, will ultimately de-
prive the slave of his employment, and ren-
der him valueless as property. The laws
of population will remain the same in all
time to come. We must remember that
the present and the past are not the future.
To-day is not forever. The value of slave
property in the middle and western States,
has been kept up by the demand in the
south. That demand must have an end.
The statesman can now define with perfect
certainty, the boundaries of slave territory.

The growth of population in the free States,
and in the vast territory from which free
States are to be made, is so rapid as almost
to double the amount of its agriculture. It is true,

to defy the powers of calculation. The
power of the government, the political
strength of the nation, will be with those
who have but little sympathy with the insi-
tution of slavery.

In this view of the matter, how impor-
tant does it become to provide an efficient
remedy for the evil? How forcible is the
appeal to the patriot and the statesman? It is
when we divest ourselves of prejudice and
realize that this is a subject of deep and vital
interest, that the scheme of colonization
rises to its true dignity and importance. It
is when we are most thoroughly persuaded
of the nature and extent of the evil which
afflicts us, that this benevolent design points
to the way of deliverance. It assures us
of the justice, mercy, and wisdom of God.
Our trust is in Him who delivered three
millions of people from Egyptian bondage
and led them through the wilderness for
forty years, with a cloud by day and a pillar
of fire by night. The time will come
when the proud vessel of our Republic
will sail with the last cargo of American
slavery, shall spread her canvas for the
shores of Liberia. The roiling lustre of
thousands of eyes will be turned upon it.
The blessings of Heaven will be invoked by
an innumerable host of uplifted hands, and
all the jarring elements of party strife
will be melted and mingled into one general
prayer of joy, and thankfulness, and safety.

Inquiry into the Causes which have Retarded
the Accretion of Wealth and Increase of Population in the Southern
States. By a Carolinian.

CHAPTER V.

In the foregoing chapters I have maintained
that slavery is the great cause of the un-
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endeavored to show in what way it affects
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the revenue standard, they in effect affect
money out of the pocket of the farmer with-
out any equivalent, in order to enrich the
manufacturer.

I have now to combat the very opposite
opinion, viz: that Free Trade caused the
ruin of Italian Agriculture.

I have seen an article in Blackwood's
Magazine for March, 1844, which makes
use of the historical facts, in an argument
against Free Trade, which I had intended
to adduce in corroborations of my views of
slavery. The writer of the article attributes
the decline of Italian agriculture to the
practical free trade which existed between
the various parts of the Roman empire,
whence the agriculturist of Italy was brought
into competition with the fertile plains of
Egypt and Lydia. It seems that the Free
Traders in England have controverted this
reasoning of the Reviewer and of Allison,
from whom he borrows the idea, and they
have assigned the same cause, slavery, for
the decline of agriculture which I do. I
presume that they attribute the evil to
slavery, leaving none to be attributed to
the want of a market elsewhere. The
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THE EXAMINER.

J. C. VAUGHN, EDITOR.
F. COBBY, ASSISTANT EDITOR.

LOUISVILLE: JULY 3, 1847.

Notice.

We send a copy of our paper to such persons as we have reason to believe will become subscribers. It is earnestly requested that those to whom it is sent will at once signify their wish, as to its continuance or discontinuance. If they desire it continued, let them forward the subscription; if they wish it discontinued, the paper should be sent back, with the name and the post office to which it was addressed marked upon it. The post office regulations provide for the sending back of all such papers free of postage.

The City Press.

We thank the Louisville press, most sincerely, for the manner in which they have received the Examiner, and the fairness with which they have stated our object.

We want no mere notoriety. We desire to escape all excitement. In earnest in our belief that the removal of slavery would bless the State, and strengthen the Union, would make all happier and better, and wishing to labor for this result with a single eye, we long to get the ear of the public, and thus to give them mental possession of the views and arguments of our friends.

Yet we know, as all do, that success in this respect, would depend much upon the spirit of the home press. A word spoken in unkindness, any misrepresentation, however unintentional, might rear up against us a thick wall of prejudice, which would require time and hard labor to overthrow. We have had neither. The spirit of our editorial brethren has been generous and fair. They have said what should have been said, and many a honest citizen will remember long and well their manly conduct. We, certainly, shall not forget it.

We know, as one of our contemporaries remarks, that the path we tread, is beset with difficulties. But we think a direct and truthful course, on our part, will go far to relieve us from most, if not from all, of them. We believe, at any rate, that we understand these difficulties; and knowing, that we would do nothing to injure the well-being of the State or hurt the true interests of one human being in it; we are confident that we can discuss the question of emancipation with some profit to all who may engage in it.

To show the temper of the city press, we quote a single sentence from the Louisville Journal's greeting of the Examiner, as we intend hereafter giving the examiner, etc. The editors say:

"We take pleasure in saying from our personal knowledge of the editors of the Examiner, we are confident they will discuss slavery, with ability, and in a spirit of valour and moderation, offering no occasion for offence to any portion of the community."

We regret to say, that there is one exception to this course of the press—we refer to the notice of the Examiner by the Baptist Banner and Pious, a religious journal, edited by Rev. W. C. Buck. That paper, of June 23d, says:

"The Examiner.—This is the name of a new paper, the first number of which was laid on our table on Saturday last. It is edited by J. C. Vaughn and F. Cobby."

"The Examiner," we take it, is the "Tarn-American" revisited, and worms back the spirit of one citizens, if they will ensue an avowed and notorious abolitionist of a neighboring city, to come here or to remain in Cincinnati, where he now resides, and throw firebrands into this community."

This paper quicker in its insight into the welfare of Louisville, and Kentucky, than such papers as the *Journal, Courier, Democrat, Presbyterian Herald*! Can its editor claim a greater love of home than the editors of these journals? Is he reader to defend the State against all persons who may seek to do it harm. He will hardly make this claim. It would not be admitted if he did. Yet all the papers named have spoken justly of us; the Baptist Banner and Pious alone assault us, and invites against us violence.

But has the editor read our introductory? In that we stated, EXPLICITLY, our principles, *where we were, what was our aim, and in what spirit we should seek to carry out that aim*. Not a line of this does he give his readers! Not even an allusion! Should not the law of Christian kindness require this? Would not the golden rule, do unto others as you would they should do unto you, imperatively demand it? We leave the editor to answer. We leave him to say whether he has acted towards us in the spirit it inculcates or with the charity it breathes.

But the Rev. Mr. Buck is afraid that we will throw "firebrands" into this community. Let him dismiss his fears! The only torch we shall use will be lit by the best judgment of the mind, and fed by the purest feelings of the heart. We would indeed, throw no "firebrand" into this community, if we were able, except such a one as would light it, and the people of Kentucky, into the path that leads to a larger growth in virtue, knowledge, power, and the possession of all that could make them good and great. If, in the humble endeavor to do this, he and others, call us hard names, blind to our spirit, and mad in their fits; if, in the honest purpose, however fully carried out, to elevate our native State, he and others vilify and denounce us, forgetful of our rights and their duty, we shall go on quietly, and uncompromisingly, believing in our God, and their God, will bless those who patiently labor, while remembering no enemy, and knowing no hate.

One of the Causes.

Last week we gave statistics and arguments for the purpose of establishing this fact: that slavery, where long continued, would wither and waste the power, and stop the growth of any State which upheld it. We desire to show how this operates, necessarily, upon a large class of our citizens—upon those non-slave-holders who labor, and live by labor, whether mechanics or farmers, or every day workers.

Why is it that so many of this class, native born, quit Kentucky? How comes it, that we help to swell the numbers, and increase the wealth of the North West, and yet every two years, find the decennial increase of population diminishing? Whence is it that we in common with all the slave-states, are losing power, and while the free States are enlarging theirs? These are questions worth studying—questions which the patriot and Statesman must study, and answer, too, if he would do his whole duty. Let us see if we can solve them as regards the laboring class.

1st. Where slavery exists, labor is not respected as it should be.

One of the most fearful effects of slavery, is, that it stamps labor with dishonor. It is thought slavish. True, we find mechanics who are great enough to rise above this prejudice; to do their duty amid the most trying difficulties. True, also, is it, that we have planters brave and just men, who toil by the side of their slaves, and teach their children to do as they do. But these are exceptions to the general rule. The general effect of slavery, is to make labor slavish in the opinions of most men, and, therefore, to render it disreputable. Mr. L. Marshall, of Fauquier County, Virginia, in debate in the Legislature of that State, in 1845, went so far as to say:

"Slavery is ruinous to the whites. The master has no capital but what is invested in human flesh. The father, instead of being richer for his sons, is a loss to provide for them. There is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprise. Labor of every species is abominable, because performed wholly by slaves. Our toils are unprofitable, and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished."

This language, doubtless, is strictly true when applied to Virginia; but it could not be literally applied to Kentucky. Counteracting causes come in to mitigate the evil. Our country to flourishing free States help us out of it. Still, we feel every way numerate, and there is not a Southern man, who has thought on the subject, who does not know, as a general rule, that slavery makes labor a badge of dishonor.

2d. This difficulty depresses highly and directly the white laboring classes.

Of this fact, there is scarcely room for doubt or dispute. Let us place ourselves, if we would test it, in the position of non-slave-holders, mechanics, or small farmers. They have to work.

"They have no way to get their food, except by the sweat of their brow. And they do work, day in and day out, with hard, unrelenting toil.

But in sight of the shop where they are engaged, or beyond the fence surrounding the ground they till, they see slaves employed as they are.

Their owners, with here and there an exception

not to soil their hands with hammer or hoe, nor

do they use muscles, plane, or plough. They direct, the slaves alone labor.

Now what, under these circumstances, must be the feelings of the mechanics and small farmers? How should we feel if situated like them? We should be discontented with our lot; loathe the social condition; loathe labor; and nothing but an uncontrollable necessity would compel us to submit.

We should emigrate; go to the mountains; go anywhere to get clear of such groaning annoyances. Say what we please about despising outward influences—prize as eloquently as we may as to independence—there is not one, in a thousand, who, if he could help himself, would not leave his native hearth, while thus humbled and borne down, and seek a new home where labor is respected, and where he could be first amongst the best. This consideration drives us, as it drives, thousands of brave fellows from Kentucky.

3d. This difficulty is made a terrible reality to non-slave holding fathers by the effect it has upon their children.

A man, often, endures suffering rather than change. We know many such cases. A man from habit, in the hope that something better will turn up, may submit to inconvenience, or bear with the rank oppression, rather than break his bands from his native soil. Instances of this kind are familiar to all. But no man does, or can submit to wrong when that, wrong crushes the hopes of his children, or brings dishonor upon their names, nor is it right he should.

Consider, then, the case of these fathers, who, as small farmers, or poor mechanics, are obliged to keep their offspring in field, or shop, while all around them slaves are reaping the work they do.

The masters of these slaves would do no harm to these poor young whites; they mean none to them whatever; may, they would help them if they could; but the very fact, that they keep sleep from all till, that their boys shun it as a hated or despised thing, and sleep in all the joyous freedom of youth, as free from care as the wild winds that blow by them, while their poorer slaves under a broiling sun or the biting cold, are working on, heavily, and drudgingly, makes the institution of slavery enter like fire into their souls. They might submit, were they alone concerned; but for their children's sake they cannot; and they go from us, and in a free land seek a fairer, happier field of action, for them and their slaves.

They played for them, and before the comedy began, the pretties actress

Looked, the other day, over an old torn book, called LEONTINE, to a farm house whether we had strayed to take shelter from the rain, we found a vivid description of a battle scene, and the incidents accompanying it, which illustrates well these influences.

The time of action was the age of Louis the XIV, the place France. It was of the famous battle of FOUNTAINET that the writer spoke.

The contending hosts were high; ere another day could pass, they must meet in deadly conflict.

And what, reader, was the employment, at such a time, of the monarch, his generals, and the soldiery, as far as they were permitted to join with them? We saw them, with bodies torn and mangled, shrinks away, half sick, and giddy at the sight.

A second experience weakens the shock. A third familiarizes him to it; a fourth makes him reckless. And, at last, his courage may fail by his side, or heaps of wounded be scattered round him, or piles of dead lay gaily and bleeding in his walk, and yet he will prepare his meal, or pass his joke, as though these butchered human beings were flowers filling the air with sweetness, or nature's ornaments covering the rich earth with loveliness. War grasps our better affections with an iron clasp, and crushes them all. It treads down our nobler aspirations as the whirlwind does the corn.

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At the present number of our paper may fall
the hands of some who have not seen the
we republish our introductory.

Announcements.

The Legislature of Kentucky, last winter, by
act, called upon the people of the State to say
whether they would have a CONVENTION to es-
tablish a new Constitution.

The holding of a convention always im-
pacts, is especially so now, for it involves the
consideration and settlement of questions of vast
magnitude—questions which ought to receive
a wide and thorough examination of which our
community are capable.

There can be, legally, no limit to the discuss-
ion of these questions, thus authoritatively and
widely broached by the highest authority,
there will be, we are persuaded, no effort,
any quarter, to hedge in the liberty of the
untrammeled speech, while these privileges
rested with a just regard to the peace of
community, and the integrity of the law,
the most difficult problem of all—emancipa-
tion may be fully and fearlessly presented,
but it is thus guarded;—for no right
is secured in Kentucky, than that in-
herent fundamental right, which secures to
“the liberty to know, to utter, to
belong to conscience.”

any doubt exist, on this point were
those causes, external and internal,
the last few years, have arrested
the progress of slavery by the press over the
whole are;

the violence with which the subject of
slavery has been agitated out of the slave States,
has been of no form of exaggerated speech

in which wrath could be clothed

which has not been used against those who
are in slavery. The characteristics of too

many even of the professed advocates of free-
dom, living far away from the evil which they
dread, have been, violence, and excess. They

have made no allowance for the education and
feeling of a slaveholding community. The great

question of emancipation, therefore, which
should be presented without passion, and urged

a spirit of love, and generous good will, has

been involved in a storm of fierce conflict, and
we have been so bewildered by excitement

and by passion, as not to see or know the

right, or, at least, how to attain it. Society, na-
turally, when stagnant, needs a whirlwind

to purify it, and to save; But where there

is virtue and intelligence enough to hear and

understand truth, the rude anger of the storm with

will only enkindle a ruder anger within

tolerance, invariably, begets violence, and all that

the best of us can do, at such times, is to watch

the excitement as it wears away—and then, to

labor and wait.

2. The ultraism with which slavery has been

upheld in the slave States.

The pernicious—especially those led by the

leaders of the Carolina school—have been ever

on the scene. They have demanded of all persons

points of qualified obligation to their dogmas.

HENRY CLAY, because he refused assent to these,

was denounced by them as an abolitionist, for

the same reason SETH WRIGHT is as much exec-
rated now as JAMES G. BIRNEY. Their object

is to deepen the pro-slavery sentiments of Kentucky,

and, as far as it can extend it—to inspire in-

to discuss all reform measures—and to ad-

ocate, to the best of its ability, every claim of

humanity. As it name imports, its glance will

be a wide one, and we shall aim to make it, with

the aid of friends, a welcome visitor alike to the

men of thought, and the family circle.

We have been solicited by numerous indi-

viduals in Virginia and North Carolina, and by

a large circle of friends in Kentucky, to occupy

our present post. We were known to all of them

to have been born and brought up in South

Carolina, and bred a slaveholder, and, therefore,

supposed to be acquainted with the prejudices,

interests and rights of slaveholders, and thus

fit to discuss the question of slavery; to be a

Whig, yet no partisan, and hence not likely

to introduce or meddle with party politics,

or parties of any character in or out of the

State. We shall labor to meet their wishes and

fulfill their expectations. Of Mr. C. COVINGTON

we have been told, he recently started

for Santa Fe with 200 head of cattle, was

there for the purpose of employing more men.

Our Council Groves his herd made a stampede,

and for this end, they appear

constantly and ably to the pride, passion,

and fears of these slave States.

Nonetheless, the denial of the right of

petition, the bitter and steadfast opposition to

free labor, the *masses* in which Texas was an

asset, last, thought not least, Mr. Calhoun's

“aggression” resolutions, as Senator Benton de-

signates them—all those things show this to be

the aim, and they show, in addition, that it is

the purpose, by this action, to vex and fret the

South, to drive the people there to excess, to

turn them and make them sit ultra on the other.

How can we, in such times, is to watch

the excitement as it wears away—and then, to

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be a wide one, and we shall aim to make it, with

the aid of friends, a welcome visitor alike to the

men of thought, and the family circle.

We shall, some time hence, refer to the table

in detail, and give our own views upon the re-
sults.

4. That this State alone has exclusive juris-
diction over the whole subject within its ter-
ritory.

Slavery is a domestic institution. Neither

the National Government, nor any sister State,

has the right, legally, to touch it. It is for

Kentucky, and Kentucky alone, to say when

and how her soul shall be set free, or whether

she can be set free at all.

5. That the free slave shall be addressed.

This position needs only to be stated, to be

admitted everywhere. This being a demon,

and fit for the blackest infamy, who would wish,

in any manner, to arm man against master. No

more fiend-like conduct can be imagined. It

would receive the universal execration of earth,

as it would be sure to meet the indignant pun-
ishment of heaven.

To our view, indeed, there is but one course

mapped out for him, who labours earnestly and

honestly to benefit and bless man. It is, as one

of authority has said, to speak the truth always

in love. Especially, should they pursue this

course, who are endeavoring to effect social re-
forms, to change old and time-worn habits and

laws. They must understand prejudices and pay

proper regard to them; know all perils, and

ward them off; weigh each interest, and be-
ware of it; and violate no right in removing a wrong.

It is often thought enough that the truth be spoken;

but it is as important almost, to speak it

rightly. When uttered in harsh terms, clothed

in the garb of bigotry, or enforced in an in-
solent or overbearing manner, in a spirit exclusive,

one-sided or railed, it will be resisted, often, as a

lie. The advocates of truth must rise up to the

level of its own dignity. They must be in

heart, and crush all feelings of anger and ha-
tred, ere they can be fit to defend it, or enforce

any great claim of humanity.

We shall write and argue in the Examiner, in
this spirit, and temper, giving, as just cause
of single human being, just free, alike,
from that timidity, which would shrink before
error, or that violence, which would baffle with
it in anger.

The necessity of such a paper as the Examiner
is clear enough to our friends. Because,

(apart from other weighty reasons.)

1. Of the extent of anti-slavery sentiment in Kentucky.

There never was a period when our people

did not feel it. At the formation of the Con-
stitution, the Convention could, with a few

votes of inserting it in a gradual emancipation

clause, and in 1832 public opinion was almost

ripe for such a step. This feeling is not, appar-
ently, as strong now.

It is, still, however, in its own form an energetic element, and if all causes of restraint were removed, we believe

it would be overwhelming in its action. Such

sentiment have, indeed, up to the present

time, been the chief obstacle to the

abolition of slavery in Kentucky.

2. The welfare of the State.

Who thinks slavery a blessing? What body

of men in the church regard it? What number

of citizens, out of the church, so hold it? If

slavery were unknown among us, and its intro-
duction was proposed, the voice of the people

would pour itself out, in one concentrated

effort, for universal freedom.

Those who are in slavery, and those who

were born in it, are not, in any sense, fit

for universal freedom. Those who are in

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The Drum.

(A frontispiece representing a child asleep with fairies around him.)

Innocently dreaming,
Upon the beaming
Light from Fancy's bright dominions.
The soft, pale moon
Sits there soft and slumberous air,
Flitting, gaily here and there,
The sleep-sprites have found thee,
In their witches' bound bine.
Dreaming:

Wonderously dreaming!
Each traced eye seeming
Restless 'neath its deep-fringed lid;
Wake not! the fine vision's hid
When the spell of sleep is broken;
O! by every magic token,
Lose not yet thine hour of bliss—
Manhood knows no joy like this.
Dreaming:

Gullible one, thus dreaming,
Amid the gleaming
Dawn of light and pure—
May their memory endure,
When thy morning's light
Now so dewy bright,
Burneth into searching noon,
Then faileth into night full soon.
Dreaming:

For thy later dreaming,
With care and sorrows tecning,
Will make thy dream thy sleep;
At thy wakening thou will weep,
Gone the visionary brightness;
That gave thine hours their lightness—
Thou will long for that repose
Whose lone couch never knows.
Dreaming:

Innocently dreaming:
Thus the hours go by,
Long come around those spirits of slumber
In their myriad may number!
Through the shadowy night,
Bringing calm delight,
Or in the sunny day,
When thou'rt tired of play
And dreaming:

W. W. M.

The Court of Louis Philippe.

The king and queen always occupy the same bed, which is almost as broad as it is long, but whose two halves are very differently composed. On one side is a plain horse hair mattress, on the other an excellent feather bed. The latter is for the queen. The prince and princesses are accustomed, like the king, to sleep on a single mattress. There always a light in their majesties' apartments and a portiere is placed upon the door to the king.

"Unconscious in the bed that wears a crown!" In this instance, however, the pistol practice is the result probably of an old habit rather than of any apprehension of a night attack upon the Tuilleries. We have passed the days when kings were stabbed in their beds or poisoned in their cups; and the attempts of the Fleches and Lecontes do not appear to prey upon the robust health and deep sleep of the legitimate king of France. With the queen, however, it is very different. The anxiety and sorrow she has experienced since 1830 have been terrible; and doubtless she has wished many times that her husband had never exchanged his retirement at Neuilly, his circle of friends at the Palais Royal, for his present exalted but difficult and dangerous station. M. Apert, after a short and somewhat exasperating interview with the princess, "there as a king," had certainly worn a crown. "When we contemplate the care-worn and suffering, but benevolent and interesting countenance of the virtuous Queen of the French, and call to mind all trials during the last fifteen years, the constant attempts on the king's life, the death of the Princess Mary, and of the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Orleans, the perils incurred by her, her son, in Africa; how we doubt the sincerity of this emanation?" In unaffected pity, and in charity that blushes to behold, this excellent princess finds consolation. M. Apert becomes enthusiastic when he speaks of her unassuming virtues, to which, however, his testimony was scarcely needed. None, we believe—not even her husband's greatest enemies—have ever ventured to deny them.

The queen disposed of French-landed thousand francs a year for all her personal expenses; and certainly she gives more than two hundred thousand in charity of all kinds. "M. Apert (she would sometimes say to me, give these hundred francs we spoke of, but put them down upon next month's list, for the waters are low, my purse is empty)." Imposture—Ingratitude—even the insolent form of the petition addressed to all the members of the Chamber of Deputies. "Madame, an old French soldier, who one day wrote to her, if the Bourbons had not returned to France—for the misfortune of the nation—my beloved mistress and protectress, the Empress Maria Louis, would still be upon the throne, and I should not be under the humiliating necessity of telling you that I am without bread to eat, and the wretched matress upon which I sleep is not to the thickness of the garment I had intended, because my purse is unpaid." I dare not take you for assistance, for my heart is with my real sovereign, and I cannot promise you my gratitude. If, however, you think proper to preserve a life which, since the misfortunes of my country, has been so full of bitterness, I will accept it: I should blush to receive a gift. I am, Madame, your servant, Ch. Apert.

Here was a pretty letter to set before a Queen; a note of impudent pride that might well have disgusted the most charitable. But what was Maria Amelie's reply to the precious epistle? She was accustomed to open all the petitions addressed to her—and numerous indeed they were—with her own hand, to write upon many of them her name, and M. Apert. When the impudent missive of the Bourbons reached that gentleman the following lines had been added to it: "She must be very unhappy for she is very unjust." A hundred francs to be sent to her immediately; and I beg M. Apert to make inquiries concerning this lady's circumstances." M. Apert, indignant at the tone of the letter, returned to remonstrate, but the Queen insisted upon her right to be paid, and the king, though it should be required by her singularities, when he awoke, "had certainly a crown on." When I knocked at a worn-out door on the fifth floor of a house in the Rue St. Andre des Arts, and a lady dressed in black (it was her own) opened it: "She must be very unhappy for she is very unjust." Imposture—Ingratitude— even the insolent form of the petition addressed to all the members of the Chamber of Deputies. "Madame, an old French soldier, who one day wrote to her, if the Bourbons had not returned to France—for the misfortune of the nation—my beloved mistress and protectress, the Empress Maria Louis, would still be upon the throne, and I should not be under the humiliating necessity of telling you that I am without bread to eat, and the wretched matress upon which I sleep is not to the thickness of the garment I had intended, because my purse is unpaid." I dare not take you for assistance, for my heart is with my real sovereign, and I cannot promise you my gratitude. If, however, you think proper to preserve a life which, since the misfortunes of my country, has been so full of bitterness, I will accept it: I should blush to receive a gift. I am, Madame, your servant, Ch. Apert.

Names of Flowers.

I do wish that our botanists, conchologists, and entomologists, and the rest of our scientific godfathers and godmothers, would sit soberly down, a little below the clouds, and revise their classical, scholastic, and polylegic nomenclature; yes, even the gardeners and florists could do the same. I am not so much against all those pretty plants whose botanical and pedantic titles are enough to make them blush and drop their modest heads for shame. The fly-flapper is bad enough, with his Agamemnon butterfly and Cassandra; but it is abominable to label our flowers with ungraceful and absurd names of speech.

Let the botanists, for instance, drop Lapeyre's Mythology to boot, and they will never invent such apt and elegant names as the Old English ones, to be found in Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare. Oh, how sweetly they sound, and smell in verse—charming the eye and nose, according to the Rosicrucian system; and, as far as the Dutch, German, and Lipsey—frogs, have a pastoral and musical significance; but what song or sound could be the sweater for a Branswijk? There is a meaning in wind-flowers, in cuckoo buds, and shepherd's crocks, whilst the lark is associated with the breezy heat, and the leporine sun with the bright day.

"And did you?" inquired the friend, "not possess the facts on which the reasoning must be grounded. Nothing is better, but a naked dissent, which implies a sort of moral contempt; or, what a man of kind disposition is very likely to fall into, a kind of tacit acquiescence of his own opinion, no less than of his friend's."

Julian Mourns over the Fall of His Daughter to Her Sisters.

What we lose

In loss of life, I thought.
As every father thinks, the best of all,
Graceful and mild and sensible and chaste;
Now all these qualities of form and soul
Fade from before me; nor on any one

Can I regret, or be consoled by any

And yet this torn heart I loved her more

Than I could lose her when I died on each

Her roses over all your meadows,

A hooded mystery, holier than they all!

—Count Julian.

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